



UGANDA **PEOPLES** CONGRESS

MANIFESTO 2011

PROGRAMME FOR THE REHABILITATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNISATION OF A FAILED STATE

DECEMBER 8, 2010, UGANDA HOUSE, KAMPALA



OO's homecoming in Lango



OO regains Ugandan passport after 24 years of being denied one by President Museveni who labelled him a "foreigner"

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MESSAGE TO FELLOW UGANDANS	5
Section One.....	9
MANIFESTO 2011.....	9
I. DEEP HUMILIATING POVERTY.....	10
Agriculture	
Employment	
Small And Medium Enterprises (SMEs)	
Rehabilitating Jinja Manufacturing Infrastructure	
Reviving Tororo Industries	
Pensions And Social Security	
Cost of Fuel, Electricity, Telephone, And Basic Necessities	
II. INVESTING IN OUR HUMAN RESOURCES.....	18
Health	
Education	
Population	
Persons With Disability (PWD)	
III. EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND YOUTH	26
Women	
Youth	
IV NATIONAL PROJECT	30
Buganda Question	
A National Covenant	
Truth, Accountability & Reconciliation	
Uganda Diaspora	
V. INFRASTRUCTURE.....	35
Roads And Railways	
VI. ECONOMY.....	36

Orientation of Economy
Oil And Gas Exploitation
The Environment
Labour And Workers' Rights
Development Institutions

VII.	A DEEP MORAL CRISIS.....	48
	The Moral Crisis	
	Violence Against Children	
	Corruption	
VIII.	POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION.....	51
	Luwero	
	Northern Uganda	
	Karamoja	
IX	ESTABLISH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE.....	54
	Security Services	
	The Rule Of Law	
	Free And Fair Elections	
	The Public Service	
	Immigration	
	Disaster Management	
X.	METROPOLITAN KAMPALA.....	60
XI.	REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.....	61
	Good Neighbourlines	
	Uganda's Role In World Affairs	
XII.	FUNDING PLAN.....	63
Section Two.....		65
DID YOU KNOW? WHAT UPC BUILT IN UGANDA.....		66
Section Three.....		75
PROFILE OF MR. OLARA OTUNNU.....		75

Message to fellow Ugandans

Our country is in the throes of a grave national crisis. Uganda is today a highly divided and polarized country. It is rent apart by corruption and plunder; humiliating poverty among the vast majority of our people; an absolute culture of impunity; a deep moral crisis; genocide; horrific violence against helpless children; the collapse of national institutions of development and governance; and the complete abandonment of ordinary people. Particularly significant is the fact that the Museveni regime has simply migrated from the delivery of any social services to the people of Uganda.

Uganda today is a nation in ruin; a society in a state of generalised collapse; in short *A FAILED STATE*. In the countryside, the presence of the state has now been reduced to a terrifying and ruthless infrastructure of repression, administering coercion and deep fear, corruption and plunder, abuse and impunity. Absent the delivery of social services, for the vast majority of Ugandans, the state has come to represent two things (and two things only): a ubiquitous and ruthless network of terror, and the wanton plunder of national resources.

The UPC Manifesto for the 2011 Elections is called:
*PROGRAMME FOR THE REHABILITATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND
MODERNIZATION OF A FAILED STATE.*

UPC is a social democratic party, which is founded and organised on social democratic principles. This orientation has informed the priorities and strategies chosen in this manifesto.

In this programme for national renewal, therefore, our key preoccupation is with how to **again place ordinary people in the centre of governance and development**; how to rehabilitate, reconstruct and modernize the country's institutions of social and economic development and governance; how to end Museveni's

25 years of segregation and inequalities in health, education and distribution of national resources; how to reunite our people after 25 years of fragmentation, polarisation, discrimination, vilification and persecution organized along ethnic and regional lines.

Indeed, there has been a general collapse of the rule of law, the destruction of national institutions, governance processes and the delivery of basic services. Hospitals, public education systems, agricultural services, roads and railways are all in shambles. Universal Primary Education (UPE) which was introduced without any investment or planning, churns out functionally illiterate pupils without any literacy and numeracy skills. This does not trouble the Museveni regime at all, because it is more concerned with touting enrolment numbers than providing real education to our children. This is a regime whose chief concern is fraudulent image-building not genuine nation-building.

Our healthcare services are simply a huge scandal. Except for the 23 rural hospitals built by UPC government, the structures of most other government hospitals and health centres have collapsed. All are ill-equipped and without drugs. Medical personnel are inadequate, underpaid and totally demoralized, leading to an unprecedented haemorrhage to greener pastures abroad.

Our people have been deliberately impoverished and deprived of their means of livelihood. The cooperatives, through which peasant farmers and other economic groups were able to engage in productive activities, were destroyed. The Uganda Commercial Bank (UCB), which extended affordable and reliable credit facilities to small traders, businessmen and women, was sold off for a song. Corruption has permeated the entire fabric of public life. It is the norm for political leaders to freely allocate to themselves funds from the treasury. This sometimes takes the form of manipulating public procurement processes to benefit themselves, their friends, families and in-laws. The truth is that our country has been hi-jacked

by a 'mafia' clique that has appropriated the state to serve their private interests.

For the past two decades, Ugandans have witnessed well orchestrated schemes to deprive them of everything including their fundamental right to freely choose their government through free and fair elections organized by an independent and impartial elections commission.

Regarding the conduct of elections, our country is engaged in an historic struggle. At the heart of this struggle is our non-negotiable demand for genuinely free and fair elections in 2011. This translates into two minimum demands: an independent electoral commission; and a clean and verifiable register of voters.

UPC presents this manifesto as a covenant with the people of Uganda. We ask for your vote and support so that together we can reverse the quarter century of moral, social, economic and institutional decay.

In the period 1962 to 1970, UPC laid an extraordinary foundation for the economic and social transformation of Uganda. In that period Uganda developed by leaps and bounds in all sectors. Indeed most of the developments we see in the country today were built in that period. In the period 1981-1985, following the removal of the Idi Amin regime, UPC embarked on a major rehabilitation and reconstruction programme. In the second section of this booklet, under the heading "Did You Know? What UPC Built For Uganda", we have provided a summary of these seminal projects and achievements by UPC.

We are citizens; we are the owners of this land. This is our country; but for the last 25 years, it has been hi-jacked by a small politico-military clique that has appropriated the state and reduced Ugandans to subjects (not citizens) in their own country. If this country belongs to us, the citizens, then it is high time we behaved as its owners. We

must no longer accept being reduced to supplicants and subjects in our own land. We must take control again and be in charge again of our land, our kingdoms, our resources, our government, and shape our destiny and that of our children.

I am honoured and delighted to offer this programme, for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and modernisation of our country, to the people of Uganda.

We Must Take Back Our Country!

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Olara A. Otunnu', written in dark ink.

Olara A. Otunnu
President, Uganda Peoples Congress

December 8, 2010, Uganda House, Kampala



Section One

MANIFESTO 2011

PROGRAMME FOR THE REHABILITATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNISATION OF A FAILED STATE

I. DEEP HUMILIATING POVERTY

During 25 years of Museveni/NRM rule, the vast majority of Ugandans have descended into unbelievably humiliating poverty. For them everything has been wiped out. This is programmed poverty. Indeed Museveni has spoken often that poor people are easy to rule. Poverty denies our people access to education, health and other facilities, and it locks those people and their offspring into perpetual cycle of deprivation from which they cannot break out on their own. Such poverty breeds great bitterness and polarizes our society. UPC cannot accept that the vast majority of Ugandans should be condemned to such a deep and perpetual cycle of poverty. Programmes and investments aimed to pull our people out of this deep humiliating poverty constitute the top priority in this manifesto.

AGRICULTURE

Narrative

Agriculture remains critical to Uganda's economic performance because the majority of the people (85%) derive their livelihood from it. While growth has been fast in the industrial sector as it recorded a high of 20.3 percent growth rate in 1994/95, slowing down to 4.5% in 2005/06 (UBOS UNHS 2005/06), growth has been least in the agricultural sector with a growth rate that has remained within the 1.5% to 5% bracket over the past 10 years. Currently it is at 1.3% (Background to the Budget 2009/10).

Agriculture employs 73% of the labour force; and 75% of all households are engaged in agriculture; 85% of all the population derive their livelihood from it; and yet produce only 21% of the GDP.

This situation signifies a major shift in which wealth is being siphoned away from the majority of Uganda's population - - those mainly engaged in agriculture who are mainly women (80%) - - to the 5% of the population who are engaged in services and manufacturing. This shift partly explains the very high incidence of poverty among women and the growing gap between rich and poor.

Agricultural productivity has declined because the NRM government destroyed cooperatives, the Cooperative Bank, primary societies and agricultural extension services and abandoned agriculture. There is no investment in agriculture.

Objective

A revived and prosperous agricultural sector with increased production and growing rural economies benefiting from comprehensive assistance to farmers through the cooperative unions, cooperatives, primary societies paying fair prices for produce, food security, secure livelihood, and increased employment opportunities.

Significantly, reviving and investing in agriculture will especially benefit women and uplift them from poverty, since women constitute 80% of the workforce in agriculture.

Plan and Commitment

- Increase budgetary allocation from the current 4% to 10% of the national budget.
- Re-establish and provide strong support for cooperatives (Busoga Growers Cooperative Union, Bugisu Cooperative Union, Banyankole Kweterana, etc, thrived under UPC), and primary societies to uplift rural and peasant farmers from poverty.
- Revive Cooperative Bank (ensure that interest rate for borrowing does not exceed 5%), and Produce Marketing Board.

- Subsidize farm inputs, such as fertilisers, machineries, seeds, tractors, to enable farmers increase production.
- Revive the network of district farm institutes to provide agricultural research and extension services support through demonstration farms.
- Re-establish storage and processing facilities.
- Upgrade critical community roads to district feeder roads status, and feeder roads to trunk roads in order to open and ease transport in rural agricultural areas.
- Provide legal and regulatory framework for micro-finance institutions to make available funds for micro and small agricultural processing ventures.
- Rehabilitate existing silos and build new ones for storage of cereals and promote construction of granaries for storage of excess harvest. These measures will provide food security to the population during periods of drought and poor harvest.

EMPLOYMENT

Narrative

There is a high level of unemployment in Uganda. Despite the talk about successful high economic growth rates, these have not translated into jobs or increased opportunities. There has not been any comprehensive development planning, linking population growth, human resource development, the labour market and industry. The rate of growth in the labour force is 3.6% per annum, which means 500,000 Ugandans enter the job market every year. However, the economy is only able to create 20,000 jobs per year. This disparity is unsustainable.

Objective

Carefully planned economic growth and national development with increased job opportunities for Ugandans equipped with the skills to work, particularly young people entering the labour market for the first time.

Plan and Commitment

- Invest in high job-yielding projects, particularly in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of roads, schools, railway, hospitals and public health programmes.
- Create 2 million jobs within 4 years, by investing in high job-yielding projects, particularly in the rehabilitation and reconstruction programme.
- Rehabilitate existing technical colleges and vocational institutes, and build new ones to provide practical industry-oriented skills directly related to reconstruction projects and labour market needs.
- Reform secondary school curriculum to provide practical skills training and promote entrepreneurship.
- Review the status of former state enterprises such as Nyanza Textile, MULCO, Lira Spinning Mill, African Textile Mills e.t.c, which used to provide mass employment.
- Give tax incentives to firms and industries that provide special employment programmes for new graduates.
- Promote and reward entrepreneurship.

SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES (SMEs)

Narrative

It is estimated that the SMEs sector employs about 90% of the total non-farm economically active population, with employment growth in the sector of about 5.6% per annum compared to less than 5% in the formal sector. It accounts for between 60% and 80% of the urban employment in the country. The sector is characterized by indigenous, individual and micro-enterprises of 2-5 persons with either self-employment or employing family members or some hired labour. 80% of workers in SMEs are women. The sector employs artisans, carpenters and furniture makers, iron mongers, plumbers, and food vendors. Most activities in the sector require limited investment and the family normally owns and provides the means of production. As a result productivity and profitability is very low. This limits the sector's expansion. Some of these problems include limited credit facilities, inadequate skills, poor quality products due to low technology transfer, attributed to poor market information, lack of entrepreneurial training opportunities, and a restrictive legal and regulatory framework.

Objective:

Increased capacity of SMEs to create employment and contribute to economic growth.

Plan and Commitment

- Introduce legal and regulatory framework for micro-finance institutions to mobilize deposits for lending to small-and-medium enterprises.
- Lower taxation for the SMEs to create favourable conditions for entrepreneurs to grow business and create employment. This will particularly benefit women who constitute 80% of operators and workers in SMEs.

- Support research and development in appropriate technologies suitable for SMEs and small-scale farmers.
- Promote entrepreneurship; provide training to improve professional and business skills of SMEs entrepreneurs.
- Review and reduce market dues which have become an unfair burden on the market women.
- Review and reduce current unfair levies on *boda boda* operators.
- Review the operations of Uganda Revenue Authority, to eliminate imposing tax as political reward or punishment, to eliminate discriminatory practice and to eliminate harassment and victimization in the enforcement process.

REHABILITATING JINJA MANUFACTURING INFRASTRUCTURE

Narrative:

Jinja used to be the industrial and manufacturing hub of the country. It was the largest centre of employment in the country. Today it is dilapidated and a shell of its former self.

Objective

A revived and modernised industrial hub of the country.

Plan and Commitment

- Set up Jinja Industrial Renewal Commission to produce a master plan to fully rehabilitate the manufacturing infrastructure in Jinja, within 4 years.
- Reconstruct Jinja-Kampala road into dual-carriageway, within 5 years.
- Reconstruct Jinja-Malaba road into dual carriageway, within 5 years.
- Reconstruct Jinja-Busia road into dual carriageway, within 5 years.

REVIVING TORORO INDUSTRIES

Narrative

Tororo was a thriving manufacturing town, with such enterprises as the Tororo Cement Industry, Tororo Industrial Chemicals and Fertiliser (TICAF) factory and Tororo Lime Work. Today, apart from Tororo Cement, all these are no more. The people of Tororo are unemployed and poor.

Objective

An economically revived town, providing significant employment.

Plan and Commitment

- Revive Tororo's industries and economic activities.
- Explore the feasibility of resuming exploitation of the phosphate deposit in Tororo.

PENSIONS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Narrative

Public social security pension schemes do not provide adequate pensions for those persons who have reached retirement age. Only 7.1% of pensionable persons receive pension and 60% of those are males. Moreover, the scheme as administered through the NSSF, is poorly managed and has limited scope in diversity of products and coverage. The levels of compensation provided in the present Social Security Act have lagged behind economic developments and reforms. In the present circumstances, compensations have little economic value. Social protection for the working poor who are concentrated in the informal sector is undeveloped and institutional and policy frameworks are non-existent, whereas retirement savings have the potential to be the main source of long-term capital for government.

Objective

Pensionable people of Uganda having access to income and dignified retirement life, through clearly established and well-run social security benefits.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately pay pension arrears, particularly for retired soldiers and ex-service men.
- Make social security available to all workers.
- Establish an independent regulator for social security, with strong employers and workers representation.
- Review the current arrangements for pensions and social security in order to reorganize the sector.
- Undertake a study to explore feasibility of providing old age pensions to all elderly persons.

COST OF FUEL, ELECTRICITY, TELEPHONE, AND BASIC NECESSITIES

Narrative

Ugandans are suffering from unfair fuel tax, electricity and telephone tariffs that are the highest in eastern Africa as a result of possible price-fixing and market distortions. For instance, despite many mobile telephone service providers, the local rates are the highest in the world. Ordinarily, many players should have meant competition that should have long driven telephone tariffs down. But in Uganda the opposite is the case.

Objective

A tax system and tariffs that is fair, transparent, understandable and comparable to our neighbours in the region.

Plan and Commitment

- Review and reduce current highly inflated fuel cost, electricity and telephone tariffs.
- Allow fair competition among industry players.
- Review and reduce current taxes on paraffin, salt, sugar, soap and cooking oil, with a view to removing any artificial distortions in order to make them affordable to the ordinary households.

II. INVESTING IN OUR HUMAN RESOURCES

HEALTH

Narrative

Between 1962 and 1971, and 1981 and 1985 the UPC government provided free quality healthcare for all.

Under Museveni/NRM rule, healthcare is segregated; there is quality medical service for those who can afford the very high cost of private hospitals and clinics, and there is barely any service for ordinary people.

Public healthcare systems and services have completely collapsed. Physical infrastructures are dilapidated; no drugs; inadequate, demoralized medical personnel; poor pay and conditions of service and outflow of highly trained and skilled medical personnel to other countries. Consequently, the range and quality of health care provided to Ugandans have acutely declined. For instance, in the decade 1959 - 1969, there was one doctor for every 14,060 persons,

and life expectancy was 52 for men and 55 years for women. In contrast, today, under the NRM, there is only one doctor for 24,750 persons, and life expectancy for males and females is 46 and 47 years, respectively. The current doctor-persons ratio is only comparable to figures during Idi Amin's regime when by 1977 there was one doctor for every 27,600 persons.

Objective

End segregation in the delivery of health care. A healthy society where every citizen --woman, man and child-- has access to adequate and free quality health care services provided by well trained, well paid, highly motivated and professional medical personnel.

Plan and Commitment

- Increase healthcare budgetary allocation from the current 8% to 15% of the national budget.
- Fully rehabilitate the 22 rural hospitals built by UPC, within 3 years.
- Fully rehabilitate the 13 regional referral hospitals, within 3 years.
- Recruit at least 10 doctors and 20 nurses for each of the 22 rural hospitals and provide at least an ambulance for every hospital, within 3 years.
- Aim to achieve a doctor-to-population ratio of 1 doctor for every 10,000 persons.
- Build three 100 bed hospitals in Metropolitan Kampala, within 5 years, in order to relieve Mulago Hospital, and reserve its role as national referral hospital.
- Fully rehabilitate Mulago Hospital as a national referral hospital.
- Construct 4 regional hospitals for children's specialised medical care, within 5 years.

- Construct 4 regional hospitals for women's specialised medical care, within 5 years.
- Eliminate cost sharing in delivery of health care services.
- Provide special motivation to doctors, nurses and other medical personnel through significant increase in remuneration, improved housing and other conditions of service; these should be at least comparable to those in neighbouring countries.
- Provide incentives for remote and hard- to- work in parts of the country.
- Develop and promote a comprehensive national public health programme and campaign.
- Rehabilitate and expand health centres to promote primary healthcare, including immunization and vaccination.
- Ensure a strict policy of clearance by the medical board, of all public officials seeking medical care abroad on public funding.

HIV / AIDS

- Provide Anti-Retroviral drugs/treatment to all HIV positive persons.
- Support HIV / AIDS prevention measures to reduce the number of new HIV infections.
- Promote couples voluntary testing and counselling, medical male circumcision, increased access to ARVs, and reframe the HIV prevention agenda.

EDUCATION

Narrative

There is currently a segregated education system: one for the rich and one for the poor. Universal Primary Education (UPE) and

Universal Secondary Education (USE) as implemented are meant to produce and perpetuate gross inequalities within society. Education is no longer the social equalizer it used to be. However bright a child is, if s/he comes from a poor background, s/he can no longer go to the best government schools because these schools are exempted from UPE or USE intakes. UPE and USE schools are underfunded and understaffed. There are 12,169 primary schools in Uganda. The number of qualified teachers is 158,110. In this situation, class sizes are too large and pupil- teacher ratio too high. This has led to dramatic decline in the provision of quality education, let alone basic skills in literacy and numeracy among primary and secondary school leavers. The neglect and decline in quality education has not spared university students. This has been made worse by mushrooming of degree-awarding institutions that are poorly regulated and unsupervised.

Between 1962 and 1971, and 1981 and 1985 the UPC government provided affordable quality primary and secondary education, including free A-level and university education.

Objective

Eliminate endemic corrupt practices within the education system, end segregation in education, provide equity of access and opportunity to quality education to all young people irrespective of their social and economic backgrounds, and once again make schools and education the process of social integration and national unity across classes, ethnicities and regions.

Plan and Commitment

Financial allocation to education

- Increase the budgetary allocation from the current 12% to 20% of the national budget.
- Provide special incentives for teachers by significantly increasing their remuneration; improve housing and other conditions of service; making them at least comparable to neighbouring countries.
- In a policy to reduce ethnic and regional segregation, all secondary schools, tertiary institutions and universities will be required to reserve 40% of their yearly intakes for students from outside the ethnic region or sub-region where the schools, institutions or universities are located.
- Promote and support sports at all levels of education.

UPE schools

- Completely reorganise and revamp the UPE system.
- Fully rehabilitate and expand existing primary schools, within 4 years.
- Provide scholastic materials to reduce financial burdens on parents, within 2 years.
- Stop automatic promotion of pupils from one class to the next without rigorous standardized testing.
- Reduce classroom sizes from 100-150 per classroom to 45, within 4 years.
- Provide full sponsorship for persons entering teacher training colleges.
- Recruit 100,000 new teachers from the pool of existing trained but un-deployed teachers as well as newly trained teachers, within 4 years.
- Provide lunch for all primary school children.

USE schools and universities

- Fully rehabilitate and expand collapsed government secondary schools, within 4 years.
- Build 30,000 new classrooms, in 5 years.
- Build new secondary schools to absorb increased post primary school enrolment.
- In a policy to reduce socio-economic segregation in education, private and USE-exempt government secondary schools will be required to reserve 20% of yearly intake for needy students.

Universities and Tertiary institutions

- Abolish government sponsorship schemes at university that favours the wealthy, and instead introduce a student loan scheme for all students who need it to fund university education.
- Abolish State House scholarships and re-establish the National Scholarship Board to manage scholarships for university education in Uganda and abroad. Scholarships will be awarded strictly on merit, on a 50/50 distribution between male and female students.
- Create special scholarships for students from districts or regions like Luwero, northern and eastern Uganda that have experienced major disruptive armed conflict or natural disasters.

POPULATION

Narrative

Uganda's population currently stands at 32 million and is growing at 3.2% per annum. 56% of the population is composed of persons below 15 years. The population is expected to double within 25 years. This growth rate has serious implications on the economy, natural resources and quality of service delivery. The current NRM policy is that the bigger the population, the better for Uganda. Therefore there is no serious demographic planning and no relationship between service delivery and population growth. Unless this trend is reversed, population will outstrip finite resources, because even existing facilities have been left to go to ruin.

Objective

Planned population growth that is related to our capacity to provide quality health, education, housing, transportation and other social services.

Plan and Commitment

- Develop a rational population policy that links population growth with the country's capacity to deliver services and create employment.
- Work together with non-government organizations and international agencies to expand availability of family planning facilities.
- Develop a major national campaign to promote family planning.

PERSONS WITH DISABILITY (PWD)

Narrative

In the 1960s, UPC established Kireka National Centre for rehabilitation and skills training for persons with disability. UPC believes disability is not incapacity. Persons with disability need mobility vehicles to access public places; policies and programmes that offer opportunities, and equity while eliminating prejudices and marginalization.

Current estimates put persons with disabilities at 10% of the population. Their employment levels are not known, but persons with disability are discriminated against and find it difficult to compete in the labour market.

Female persons with disability are in worse situation than their male counterparts because of double gender discrimination in society and the labour market. Because persons with disability do not have equal access to communal services, public utilities and institutions, their mobility and ability to compete with able-bodied persons in the labour market are greatly impaired.

Objective

Ensure that persons with disability are treated with respect, dignity and have equal opportunities and access to education, training, and employment and can freely participate in the social, economic and political affairs of our country like any other of our citizens.

Plan and Commitment

- Revitalize the “special needs” National Vocational Rehabilitation Schemes (Ochoko, Madera, Kireka); subsidize rehabilitation programmes; and lower taxes on equipment and personal aids for PWDs.

- Depoliticize associations that are working on persons with disabilities.
- Implement the provisions of law on access to buildings and discrimination and prejudice against persons with disability.
- Involve persons with disability in policy making particularly on issues that impact on their welfare, in the management of their own affairs.
- Rehabilitate the polio clinics and expand mass immunization of children and comprehensive prenatal care because the majority of the causes of disabilities are preventable.
- Lower taxes on equipment for persons with disabilities and provide personal mobility appliances and other personal aids such as sign language education, hearing aid, Braille technology for the blind and appropriate infrastructure to integrate persons with disability into the mainstream of society.

III. EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND YOUTH

WOMEN

Narrative

There are persistent inequalities between women and men; 33% of women are poor while the percentage for men is 30%. This is more severe for widows at 34%. Almost 5.5 million women compared to 1.4 million men in Uganda are illiterate. In general, women and youth are more prone to poverty than men. Uganda's rural women (87%) are engaged in subsistence agriculture. Conversely, the high paying sub-sectors such as financial and real estate sectors employ a paltry 0.3% with the ratio of females barely half that of males. There

are wide gender differentials in unemployment too. Females suffer it twice as much as their male counterparts.

These disparities are due to the fact that despite progress made in advancing women's rights and equality, women and girls still suffer great gender inequalities and sexual discrimination at home and in the work place. Furthermore, most victims of sexual, gender-based and domestic violence are women.

Objective

Empower women with adequate resources to participate actively and fully as equals in the social, economic and political development of our country.

Plan and Commitment

- Ensure that, within 1 year, women are appointed to 50% of all national leadership positions; these include cabinet ministers, permanent secretaries, commissioners, heads of statutory bodies, and ambassadors.
- The major programmes of support to rural farmers and small-and-medium enterprises are designed to particularly empower women and significantly improve their standard of living; women constitute 80% of the workforce in these two sectors.
- Formulate a community development policy to educate, train and empower women; re-establish Community Development Centres to benefit women.
- Rehabilitate and expand all the girls' schools built by UPC government, within 4 years.
- Enusre equal rights; promote policy and measures to increase

women access to land ownership and inheritance.

- Vigorously pursue a policy of zero tolerance to violence against women; strengthen the law and sensitize the population about this problem.
- Working women will be guaranteed three (3) months paid maternity leave.
- Develop special programmes for young women targeting employability, business start-ups, life skills, and social diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

YOUTH

Narrative

Young men and women constitute the largest single block of Uganda's labour force. The youth, in the 15 – 29 age bracket, constitute over 95% of the 500,000 new labour market entrants annually (UBOS UNHS 2003). The youth share of unemployment is increasing (42% in 1997; 58% in 2003; and 65% in 2006). The problem is mostly located in urban areas and is suffered most by the female youth.

Most of the youth in Uganda have had very little opportunity to acquire employable skills. About 2.8 million young people aged 18- 30 years (72%) have attained only a primary education or less. Limited formal education is much more common in rural areas than in urban areas and is more common among young adults than among teenagers.

There is need to invest heavily in the youth, because to do so is not only a social obligation, but also makes good economic sense. We must therefore mobilise all our resources to invest in this crucial national asset.

Objective

Ensure that the youth are fully engaged in the rehabilitation and reconstruction programme, in acquiring leadership and technical skills, and in promoting social and national integration.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately establish Uganda Youth Corps, (this will be our own national version of the “Peace Corps”) to ensure the full participation of young people in the rehabilitation and reconstruction programme such as roads, schools, hospitals, housing works; provide teachers for UPE and USE schools; and provide agents for national public health campaign.
- Create 2 million jobs within 4years. This is particularly designed to benefit the youth, most of whom are currently unemployed.
- Provide assistance for business start-ups and expanding businesses through grants and soft loans.
- Provide training and guidance for a range of services particularly in skills for self employment, post-programme counselling and support;
- Work with industry and labour to provide attachment, craft training, and apprenticeship.
- Give tax incentives to firms and industries that provide special employment programmes for new graduates.
- Promote and support sports among young people at all levels.

IV. NATIONAL PROJECT

REBUILDING NATIONAL UNITY

Narrative

No country can achieve meaningful social and economic progress without a sense of common belonging among its citizens. Today, Uganda is highly fragmented and polarized society, particularly along ethnic and regional lines, due to Museveni's systematic divide-and-rule policies of the last 25 years.

Objective

Embark on a national project to reunite, reconcile and heal our country.

Build national cohesion, a strong sense of common belonging, while celebrating the rainbow of our rich diversity.

Plan and Commitment

- Reject efforts by cynical leaders to exploit our religious, ethnic and national identities as markers for privilege or discrimination and exclusion.
- Embark on a project to re-build our national cohesion.

BUGANDA QUESTION

Narrative

Certain issues constitute key concerns for the kingdom of Buganda, namely: *Federo*; the position and role of the Kabaka; land; and the unity of Buganda. Museveni has blocked all discussion about *Federo*. He has worked to fragment and weaken Buganda. He has done everything to undermine and humiliate the Kabaka. We must reverse these cynical and divisive policies.

Objective

A united, strong Buganda, under the Kabaka, in a united Uganda.

Plan and Commitment

- Support *Federo*. *Federo* is not a Buganda issue; it is a Uganda issue. *Federo* is the best formula for ensuring equitable distribution of national resources; it ensures direct and close-range accountability by those in government; it stimulates and promotes regional and local growth and development; it provides the best political space for building national unity, while celebrating and developing our diversity; and it is increasingly the modern expression of democratic practice worldwide.
- End all manoeuvres aimed at dividing and weakening Buganda. We want to see a united Buganda, under the Kabaka, in a united Uganda.
- Let the Kabaka be the Kabaka. Let the Kabaka relate freely with his subjects. Let the Kabaka move freely within his kingdom and indeed all over Uganda.
- End all land grab and demographic engineering in Buganda
- Review all questionable acquisition of land.

A NEW NATIONAL COVENANT

Narrative

The 25 years of NRM rule has destroyed Uganda. There is need for a new national covenant, to set out a new architecture of governance and distribution of power in the country. This must be the outcome of a transparent and democratic national dialogue in a free and representative forum. This is the occasion to put on the table, for dialogue and resolution, major issues that have been festering on the national agenda.

Objective

Take up and settle once and for all, key issues which have been pending on the national agenda.

Plan and Commitment

- Convene a National Convention of all stakeholders, to deliberate and settle once and for all, the key issues of *Federo*, democratic governance, uneven development, land, building unity in diversity, the position and role of the traditional and cultural leaders, and the issue of marginalized communities.
- Agree on a new National Covenant which will then form the basis for a new Constitution, establishing democratic governance, to replace the current Museveni/NRM regime Constitution.

TRUTH, ACCOUNTABILITY AND RECONCILIATION

Narrative

Uganda's recent history has been marked by certain horrendous and traumatic episodes; these include: the massacre of 33 unarmed demonstrators in the street of Kampala on 10 September, 2009; the genocide committed in northern Uganda (1986-2008); Mukura massacre (1987); atrocities committed during the war in the Luwero

triangle (1981-1985); Ombachi massacre in West Nile (1981); the massacre of Muslims in Sheema, Ankole (1979); and the 1966 crisis. These continue to constitute deep and festering wounds on the side of Uganda's body politic.

In order to achieve reconciliation and healing, it is imperative to carry out independent investigations about what happened in each of these painful episodes and ensure accountability for the atrocities and crimes committed. Accountability is imperative; regardless of which side of a particular conflict a perpetrator may have belonged; he or she must be held accountable.

Objective

Promote truth-telling, accountability, and reconciliation.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately establish a Commission for Truth-telling, Accountability and Reconciliation, within 6 months, consisting of eminent Ugandans and international jurists.
- Designate a day of national mourning and remembrance for all the victims of all the atrocities and dark chapters in our recent history.

UGANDA DIASPORA

Narrative:

A major national asset for Uganda is its large Diaspora community, estimated to be 1.5 million. Already, the national economy and local families rely very heavily on remittances from Ugandans abroad, paying for education and healthcare for thousands and keeping small entrepreneurs in business. In 2007 these remittances amounted to US \$849 million, accounting for 30% of the country's GDP, making this the second largest foreign exchange earner for the country.

Most Diaspora Ugandans live in open, democratic, and multi-ethnic societies. This exposure has greatly broadened their horizons. They can promote in Uganda the values they have come to admire in their adopted countries. They can play an important role in the struggle for freedom and democracy in Uganda. They can help fight ethnic and religious bigotry. They can help to inculcate a culture of national integration, diversity, and tolerance here.

Objective

Active engagement of Ugandans in the Diaspora in the social, economic and political transformation and development of our country.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately establish a Diaspora Affairs Department in the President's Office, to be headed by a Minister of State
- Develop a vigorous policy of outreach to and proactive engagement with the Diaspora to invest in Uganda through special incentives and investment schemes.
- Facilitate full Diaspora engagement in all sectors of Uganda's national life, beginning with instituting full dual citizenship, and voting rights.
- Make Ugandans in the Diaspora fully eligible to compete for and occupy any elective positions in the country, from LC1 to the Presidency. They will also be eligible for all appointed positions.

V. INFRASTRUCTURE

ROADS AND RAILWAYS

Narrative

There is great and urgent need to rehabilitate and reconstruct Uganda rail and road networks. For easy and efficient movement of goods and services, our road and rail arteries to the sea need to be upgraded to dual carriageway highways. These include road and rail networks linking Uganda to Kenya. With peace in southern Sudan, there is need to construct road and rail linkage to our northern neighbour which is bound to rapidly become a very important trading partner. At the moment these roads are single lane and are neither linked to the railway nor the dry docks.

There is also need to upgrade internal road networks that facilitate internal movement of goods and services, including those leading to tourist attractions. Most of these roads are impassable.

Objective

Improved infrastructures for easy movement of goods and services.

Plan and Commitment

- Rebuild “all-weather” roads that have fallen into terrible disrepair, within 5 years.
- Review the state of the 5000km national roads, and upgrade those that have seriously deteriorated, within 5 years.
- Fully rehabilitate the defunct Uganda Railways, within 4 years.

- Construct dual carriage-way roads, within 5 years, along the following corridors: Jinja-Kampala; Jinja –Malaba; and Jinja-Busia.
- Establish dry docks in Busia and Malaba, within 3 years.
- Build dual carriage-way road access to Juba, southern Sudan, within 5 years.
- Upgrade critical community roads to district feeder roads status, and feeder roads to trunk roads, in order to open and ease transport in rural agricultural areas.

VI. ECONOMY

ORIENTATION OF ECONOMY

Narrative

Uganda's economy is distorted by corruption, racketeering and discriminatory tax policies, orchestrated by the Museveni/NRM leadership.

The drivers of our economy are small-scale farmers, small-to-medium size business operators and entrepreneurs. They are housewives, single mums or fresh graduates who have turned into entrepreneurs. Instead of being rewarded and supported through reasonable rates of interest loan schemes, and moderate and fair taxation, they are punished with heavy taxes and no provision of support.

With an economy distorted by corruption and racketeering, Uganda is not an attractive destination for genuine and long-term private investors. In 2006 more than half of business firms reported making informal payments to government officials to 'get things done'; 80% of the companies reported making, on average, more than 30 unofficial payments per year.

Objective

A free enterprise economy and an open society, for the benefit of the people of Uganda as a whole.

Promotion of free competition and reward entrepreneurship, particularly the growth of small and medium size enterprises.

Plan and Commitment

- Pursue an economic policy which promotes free enterprise and entrepreneurship, with limited measures of strategic government intervention (when the broader national interests so warrant).
- Attract and reward genuine investors who bring capital and innovation
- Eliminate corruption and bribes to public officials which increase the cost of doing business through publication of a clear roadmap for investors.
- Through fair taxation, investments, soft loan schemes and other targeted programmes, to place particular priority on promoting and supporting, small-scale farmers, small-to-medium size business operators and entrepreneurs. This will particularly benefit women who constitute 80% of the workers in these two sectors.

OIL AND GAS EXPLOITATION

Narrative:

Oil exploration, extraction and sales agreements between the government of Uganda and foreign oil companies are shrouded in secrecy, giving rise to suspicions. Given the high level of corruption and impunity at the highest levels of government, citizens and local communities have well-founded fear that those in power are plotting

to largely misappropriate the oil revenues. Oil exploitation often has serious environmental impact that is best addressed through well-planned preventive and recovery measures.

Objective

Oil resources managed for the development and benefit of the people of Uganda.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately establish National Petroleum Board to manage all matters concerning exploration, extraction and sale of oil.
- Establish Uganda Trust Fund into which all oil revenues will be deposited. The trust fund will be devoted to the development of three major sectors: education, healthcare and agriculture.
- Eliminate all secrecy surrounding the exploitation, production and revenue sharing agreements between the government and the oil companies.
- Ensure that local communities are the immediate beneficiaries of oil revenues, by allotting 25-30% of the revenues for local development.
- Review land acquisitions around the oil extraction area since 1990.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Narrative

The current poverty, population pressure and incidences of natural disasters are directly linked to problems of natural resource degradation and depletion. Nine in every ten Ugandans have their livelihoods directly tied to nature-land, water, rain, plants,

animals, birds, mountains, et cetera. Unplanned, uncontrolled and unsustainable use of these resources has direct link to productivity. Unplanned and unsupervised agricultural practices in highland zones of Kabale, Kisoro, Kasese, Bushenyi, Kapchorwa and Mbale Districts have resulted in high rates of soil erosion, land slides and displacement of communities. Many areas of the country show signs of intensive erosion. The problem of soil degradation has been exacerbated by the fact that productivity is rapidly declining as human population is rapidly increasing (3.2% per year) demanding increased acreage on limited carrying capacity.

Loss of ecological integrity, particularly of delicate ecosystems such as wetlands and mountain slopes are due to misguided policy informed by politics; poor economic management; politically engineered population pressure compounded by the government's inability to reinvest in the environment and other socially desirable sectors.

Objective

Comprehensive National Environmental Policy Framework providing strict governance and regulatory measures for Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Social Impact Assessment (SIA), conservation and restoration to maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems on which human survival and development for the present and future generations depend.

Plan and Commitment

- Ensure permanent legal protection of Mabira Forest and similar national environmental patrimonies, so that they will never be sold or in any way destroyed.
- Review the existing national land-use policy and develop a comprehensive one to ensure prudent land use.
- Provide funding for continuous monitoring of land,

forest, fisheries and water use at a national and district levels.

- Provide institutional support and independence to the National Forest Authority, Uganda Wildlife Authority, the Wetlands Department, and the National Environment Management Authority for effective environment and natural resource management.
- Restore public ecosystems that have been fraudulently appropriated through corrupt practices under the current NRM regime and carry out reforestation for destroyed forests within 48 months.
- Propose the establishment of an multilateral Great Lakes Ecosystems Regional Environmental Authority/ Framework (GLEMA/F) that brings together Uganda, Kenya, Congo, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, in the sustainable management of the natural resources- water, fisheries, marine transport, forestry, etc-in the Great Lakes Watershed.

LABOUR AND WORKERS' RIGHTS

Narrative

Like many ordinary Ugandans, ordinary workers have been stripped of their rights and dignity. They have been abandoned at the mercy of their unscrupulous employers, including predatory State House certified 'investors'. They work long hours under unsafe conditions for low wages. They are denied union rights, and therefore robbed of the opportunity for collective bargaining.

Objective

Workers enjoying full rights at work, free to organize and belong to unions and benefiting from collective bargaining for better wages, decent work environment in mutually beneficial relationships with employers.

Plan and Commitment

- Set minimum wage for workers in consultations with Uganda Federation of Employers (UFE).
- Review labour and employment laws and strengthen regulatory, enforcement and compliance mechanisms to improve work conditions.
- Promote social dialogue and make unionization automatic.
- Institute a salary review commission.

DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTIONS

Narrative

No country can develop without institutions and established processes of governance. Our country today is an institution-less state. Most institutions of governance and economic development have been gutted or completely destroyed.

Objective

Effectively functioning network of institutions of governance and economic development that propel development and ensure good governance.

Plan and Commitment

- To review and re-examine the status of key national institutions of development.
- To re-institute a government that is run on the basis of ideas, professional expertise and long-term planning.

Below: A bathroom in a maternity ward in Bududa hospital



Left: Patients and caretakers on the floor of a children's ward in Anaka hospital
(Note the administration of a drip-front right)

Dilapidated, doorless latrines at Kyabugimbi health centre





A broken down bed and side cabin in Kabwohe health centre



**A broken down water borne toilet system
Kiryandongo**

Right: A broken down toilet in Bugiri Hospital





The former Coffee Processing Plant at Bugolobi



**Abandoned Tractor hire centre in Mbale.
(Tractors have been replaced with donkeys!)**



A dilapidated growers primary cooperative society in Mbale



Compare the neglect in health, infrastructure, education and agriculture to the magnificent State House above which was rebuilt at an astronomical cost



Left: A single line remains of the railway line between Bukedea and Soroti.

Right: Negotiating potholes in Kampala





Collapsed infrastructure



A gaping pothole in Kampala

- To re-establish and modernise the Cooperative Bank, Uganda Railways, Uganda Development Corporation, Uganda Electricity Board, Uganda Posts and Telecommunications, and Produce Marketing Board.
- To re-establish clear procedures for conducting government business and for holding officials accountable.

VII. A DEEP MORAL CRISIS

THE MORAL CRISIS

Narrative

Our struggle is about much more than political, economic and social transformation; it is significantly a struggle for the soul of our land. Uganda is a country in the throes of a deep moral crisis

Objective

Rebuild the moral, spiritual and solidarity fabric of our nation.

Plan and Commitment

- Work closely with spiritual, cultural and community leaders to revive the broken moral fabric and solidarity of our nation.

VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN

Narrative

The now routine killing of children for so-called human sacrifice and the serial burning down of schools, (this has included the burning to death of little girls in their school dormitories at Budo Junior) are among the new and horrendous developments that bedevil our country.

Objective

A safe and secure society for our children.

Plan and Commitment

- Strengthen child protection laws and enforcement mechanisms to prevent violence against children.
- Conduct a major campaign against child sacrifice and other forms of violence against children.
- Create a dedicated investigative and enforcement agency within the police to fight child sacrifice and burning down of schools.
- Strengthen child protection laws and enforcement mechanisms to prevent violence against children and ensure their safety.

CORRUPTION

Narrative

The breathtaking and galloping corruption in Uganda is orchestrated from the centre of the state, and it is the principal reason no basic social services is being delivered to the people.

There is a long list of mega scandals, which have become all too routine. These include; Uganda Commercial Bank scandal; junk helicopter scandal (US\$10 million); Valley Dam scandal (Shs. 4 billion); UPDF ghost soldiers (Shs. 600 million); Global Fund scandal (US\$367 million) GAVI Fund scandal (US\$87 million); NUSAF scandal; Temangalo; CHOGM scandal; etc.

Transparency International estimates corruption to be responsible for loss of about 50% of government funds (1.76/= trillion).

Objective

A vigorous war on corruption, where top leadership leads by example, and puts in place tough laws and a potent enforcement agency free from political control; and using institutional mechanisms and governance processes to quickly detect and punish corrupt practices.

Plan and Commitment

- Demonstrate leadership by example, from the President, cabinet ministers, military and other security leaders, and senior civil servants.
- Establish independent and non-political anti-corruption enforcement agency.
- Create National Assets Recovery Commission to review status and sales of former national assets and take action where fraud and corruption are detected.

VIII. POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION

LUWERO

Narrative

From 1981 to 1985, the people of “Luwero Triangle” suffered horribly from war and atrocities during the NRA insurgency. The area suffered gross loss of life, property, destruction of infrastructures, and displacement of communities. Since then in spite of Museveni’s lip service, the area has not been rehabilitated. Despite massive allocation and disbursement of funds for post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation of Luwero, there is little to show for it. It is clear that it is corrupt government officials and their cronies who have benefitted rather than the victims. Furthermore, many of these victims returned to their homes to find their land had been grabbed by the very persons who had caused and exploited their sufferings in the first place.

Objective

Justice, recovery and healing for the people of Luwero.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately establish a special Recovery and Reconstruction Programme for Luwero.
- Compensate those who lost property and life during the war.
- Reconstruct and modernize schools, health and other

social and economic infrastructure and facilities that were destroyed.

- Investigate land acquisition and land grabbing in the area during and after the war with a view to returning the land to the rightful owners.

NORTHERN UGANDA

Narrative

The LRA insurgency and the government's herding of people into concentration camps for over 20 years led to the total devastation and collapse of society in northern Uganda. The main issues are resettlement, reconstruction and compensation for lost and/or confiscated livestock and property. In addition there are the emerging land conflicts as people are returning to resettle in their former homes.

The LRA insurgency has gone on for so long because it has not been in the interest of the Museveni regime to remove the LRA factor from the Ugandan political scene.

Objective

Effective and durable economic and social recovery, resettlement and reconstruction and national reintegration of northern Uganda population.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately set to work with religious and cultural leaders and the international community to bring a definitive end and closure to the LRA insurgency, within 12 months, preferably through a negotiated settlement,

although a military solution remains an option of last resort.

- Immediately establish Northern Uganda Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Programme (NURREP) to carry out a major and special programme of resettlement, reconstruction and recovery in the region.
- Create a Peace Dividend Fund for education, health and housing.
- Pay compensation for life, property lost during the conflict.
- Compensate affected communities for the livestock confiscated and plundered by NRM government between 1986 and 1994, within 2 years.
- Review and develop appropriate mechanisms to handle and settle land disputes within and between communities caused by over twenty years of living in the concentration camps.
- Review ownership of land acquired during and immediately after the war in northern Uganda.

KARAMOJA

Narrative

Karamoja is a region that has experienced protracted marginalization. Currently it is experiencing grave human rights violations arising from disarmament exercise by UPDF which has resulted into communities losing their livelihood, being driven to destitution and many of their children are loitering in Kampala and other towns. There is land grab and plunder of mineral resources.

Objective

A peaceful region whose people live in dignity and at peace with their neighbours, engaged in productive economic activities and benefiting from exploitation of their natural resources.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately stop the current disarmament exercise by UPDF.
- Institute a community security, disarmament and policing programme.
- Compensate persons who have lost cattle, property and life.
- Stop the plunder of natural resources from Karamoja.

IX. ESTABLISH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

SECURITY SERVICES

Narrative

Our compatriots who are serving in the security services (i.e armed forces, intelligence agencies, and the police) are our brothers and sisters, our sons and daughters. They have enrolled in the security services for employment and to serve our country. They are loyal and patriotic Ugandans. They are as concerned about the direction of the country as any of us. In fact, most of them face the same neglect, deprivation, and nepotism, as the rest of the citizens.

The police and the army are very poorly paid and live in scandalously poor housing.

Objective

Professional, depoliticized, well-trained, well-equipped, well-paid security services with decent pay and dignified housing.

Plan and Commitment

- Depoliticize and professionalize the security services.
- Review and increase salary and provide living wages for the security services.
- Improve and provide decent and dignified housing for the police and army.
- Ensure that all appointments and promotions are on merit.
- Pay long overdue pensions owed to all retired soldiers and ex-service men, within six months.

THE RULE OF LAW

Narrative

The Rule of Law mediates disputes, conflicts and law enforcement within society through duly constituted and independent organs of the state. It is rule by law, not rule by men. In Uganda today, the Rule of Law has largely collapsed. What we witness today is a police state par excellence--arbitrary arrest, disappearance, illegal detention, 'safe houses', dismissal from employment or denial of business opportunities on political grounds without recourse, etc.

Objective

Governance through institutional processes based on the Rule of Law, due process, natural justice and the promotion and protection of civil liberties, fundamental rights and freedoms, whereby from the humblest of our citizens to the holder of the highest office in the land, no one is above the law. Restore the Rule of Law in all its aspects.

Plan and Commitment

- Ensure independence of the judiciary, due process, independent law enforcement agencies such as the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), the Directorate of Public Prosecution, (DPP), etc.
- Ensure that the President, government leaders, ruling party functionaries and security operatives are not above the law but govern and act under the law.
- Build an efficient, high integrity judiciary and professional law enforcement agencies.
- Immediately close down Museveni's notorious torture centres which the NRM regime has cynically named "Safe Houses"

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

Narrative

The conduct of elections affects peace, stability and prosperity of the nation. A rigged election can result in eruption of violence or leave bitterness that will lead to conflict. The present Electoral Commission has no legitimacy or credibility to organize free and fair elections. First, they were appointed under a one-party system. Second, they were found by the Supreme Court to have not complied with electoral laws in conducting and managing the 2001 and 2006 elections. The re-appointment of EC Commissioners by a sitting president, who is a partisan player, undermines the independence and credibility of the electoral commission.

Objective

An independent national electoral commission, enjoying legitimacy

and credibility with all stakeholders, and able to compile clean register of voters; organize free and fair elections.

Plan and Commitment

- Introduce law to resolve once and for all the issues concerning free and fair elections in Uganda.
- Ensure security of tenure and a seven-year non-renewable term for members of the Electoral Commission.
- In consultation with all stakeholders, agree on new modalities for appointing election commissioners.
- Put in place transparent mechanisms for the electoral commission to compile clean and verifiable register of voters.
- Restore the two terms limit for the president.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Narrative

In the first decade after independence, Uganda and Ghana had the finest public service in post colonial Africa. Unfortunately, both countries suffered the misfortunes of military coups, authoritarian rule and mismanagement. Unlike Uganda, Ghana has been able to make a remarkable recovery, beginning with an envious transition to constitutional democracy complete with presidential term limits which is in its second decade. This has allowed Ghana to reconstitute its public service, in contrast to Uganda, where a quarter century of personalized authoritarian rule has degraded all national institutions and subordinated institutional and governance processes to the presidency.

The NRM regime destroyed the civil service through wholesale dismissal of qualified, experienced and professional personnel and replacing them with cadres whose only qualifications and

competence were their unwavering loyalty to the NRM and Museveni.

Objective

A competent, dedicated, professional and loyal public service committed to delivering superbly on set government policies and goals without fear or favour.

Plan and Commitment

- Make the Public Service Commission once again independent and free from political control.
- Immediately restructure the civil service to reflect their functions to deliver services.
- Review and rationalize salaries and benefits of all civil servants with a view to motivating them and eliminating corruption.

IMMIGRATION

Narrative

Our immigration policy is in shambles. This has serious implications for security and for our ability to provide quality services such as employment, health, education, transport etc, to our citizens, residents and visitors.

Objective

An immigration policy that ensures orderly and legal entry, work, immigration, and naturalisation in Uganda.

Plan and Commitment

- Review existing immigration law and policy to ensure that

they are clarified, rationalized and streamlined.

- Review current laws to ensure that investors who employ non-nationals only do so in situations where there are no available Ugandans with the required skills.

DISASTER MANAGEMENT

Narrative

Uganda is prone to a range of disasters. Drought, epidemics, earthquakes, pest infestations, periodic floods, land slides, among others do occur quite regularly. Uganda's recent history is characterized by prolonged conflicts displacing up to 3 million people. Such conflicts led to the collapse of social systems as well as physical and economic infrastructures.

Recent experiences of how government responded to disasters revealed absence of disaster management plan, operational guidelines and adequate funding.

Objective

An efficient, statutory institution for disaster preparedness and management, with well developed and resourced capacity and capability for early warnings and prompt response to disasters and emergencies.

Plan and Commitment

- Develop, fund and implement a national Disaster Management Plan which will address disaster management multi-sectorally in the context of sustainable development.
- Establish and fund an autonomous Disaster Emergency Response and Management Agency (DERMA) for Uganda and the corresponding law and policy.

- Develop a comprehensive resettlement policy in Uganda and review the resettlement of special areas such as Kibaale and Bududa, in order to create harmony among incoming and resident communities.
- Prepare and implement a national reconstruction and rehabilitation programme for the current and recent emergency situations, to ensure post-disaster recovery.
- Strengthen the national Early Warning System in agriculture, health and meteorology.
- Integrate disaster management into the national socio-economic development planning process.

X. METROPOLITAN KAMPALA

Narrative

Kampala was planned during the colonial time to accommodate a population of 50, 000 residents. Currently, Kampala has a residential population of 1 million and a day time population of 2 million.

In the 1968, UPC drew the Greater Kampala Master Plan. This was however never implemented due to the disruption of government by the Idi Amin coup.

The urban infrastructure, including roads, housing, and water and sewerage facilities have not expanded to match the population increase. As a result, the roads are jammed, the city is crowded, the hospitals are swamped, waste disposal is poor, and development of unplanned settlements has occurred. Kampala has become a largely dysfunctional city.

Objective

Reorganise and transform Kampala into a modern, functional and congenial city with adequate facilities and services for its population.

Plan and Commitment

- Immediately set up a Commission on Metropolitan Kampala to review and propose measures for reorganising transport, housing, land use, waste management, emergency service, etc in the city.

XI. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS

Narrative

With perhaps one exception, the Museveni regime has poisoned relations with all of Uganda's neighbours. This is because of the hegemonic ambition of the regime and the export of sectarian politics, greed and atrocities to the neighbouring countries.

Objective

A Pan-African nation at peace with all its neighbours; establish the Great Lakes Region as a zone of solidarity, development, democracy, and non-aggression.

Plan and Commitment

- Work to establish a zone of solidarity, development, democracy and non-aggression in the Great Lakes Region.

- Extend a policy of mutual respect, solidarity and cooperation to all of Uganda's neighbours.
- Promote full integration of the East African Community (EC) countries at a mutually agreed pace, ensuring that the people are engaged at every stage of the process.
- Establish a new leadership in Uganda that will never seek to benefit from the problems of its neighbours.
- Work with the DRC government to re-establish its national sovereignty over the entire country and its natural resources.
- Committed to fighting terrorism as a worldwide scourge and, in this connection, to fully discharge our responsibilities in Somalia and the region.

UGANDA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Narrative

Today, we live in an inextricably interdependent world. We are constantly and deeply affected by developments in the wider world. On the all, globalisation is a very good thing for Uganda. We must learn to take and adapt what is good for us, while avoiding some of the negative underside of globalisation.

Among the most beneficial aspects of globalisation is the community of values; that is the remarkable development and elaboration of universally accepted norms and standards on key issues of common concern. These include human rights, democracy, equitable development, environmental stewardship, emancipation and empowerment of women, rule of law, accountability and good governance.

Objective

Full participation in an interdependent world and community of shared values where its principles are applied consistently.

Plan and Commitment

- To promote full, responsible and constructive engagement in world affairs.
- To ensure full, active and constructive participation in the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN), Commonwealth and other international organisations.

XII. FUNDING PLAN

Narrative

This is a serious and ambitious programme for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and modernisation of Uganda. This is the only way to pull our country out of the staggering poverty and ruin into which 25 years of Museveni/NRM rule has condemned it. This is what the country needs; this is what we must do. UPC has the will and the plan to mobilise the necessary resources to implement the programme outlined above within 5 years.

Plan and Commitment

- Implement strict measures to maximize domestic revenues.
- Create savings from elimination of corruption; currently 1.76/= trillion is lost annually from government due to corruption (500/= billion of this loss is due to corrupt

procurement practices alone).

- Use fiscal policy to reduce tax burdens thus encourage savings and direct investment.
- Use oil revenue to cover part of the costs of this programme relating to education, healthcare and development of agriculture.
- Establish development-oriented monetary and fiscal policies.
- Promote an aggressive export programme for our goods, in particular of our cash crops, minerals and oil to enable us earn increased revenue.
- Embark on a vigorous campaign to secure significant external financial assistance for the programme for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country.

* * *



U P C

Section Two

**DID YOU KNOW?
WHAT UPC BUILT FOR
UGANDA**

DID YOU KNOW?

WHAT UPC BUILT FOR UGANDA

UPC has in the past (1962–1970 and 1980 - 1985) carried out massive development activities for Uganda. UPC is committed to doing this again in the period 2011 – 2016.

UPC laid the foundation for Uganda's social and economic development. These achievements were part of the 5 year Development Plan (1965-1970). A fifteen year Development Plan (1971-1985) was disrupted by the Amin regime. The 1980s programme was therefore to rehabilitate what had been put in place in the 1960s but had been run down by the Amin regime. Despite the emphasis on rehabilitation during the 1980s, and in the face of ravaging guerrilla war mounted by the NRA, major new initiatives were undertaken and delivered by UPC.

It is a huge and tragic loss for Uganda that virtually all these national assets and achievements have been systematically plundered and destroyed by the Museveni regime.

The following are a summary of these projects and achievements:

I. 1962-1970

EDUCATION

UPC built up the education system:

- Primary schools: A total of 1,400 primary schools were built covering every sub-county in Uganda. Kitante Primary School was built in 1969 to cater for the cosmopolitan mix of nationalities residing in Kampala.
- Secondary schools: 156 secondary schools were built covering every county. In addition, special schools were

built for girls, namely Tororo Girls School, Bweranyange Girls School, Nabisunsa Girls School, Wanyange Girls School, and St. Catherine in Lira.

- UPC expanded all former missionary funded schools by providing more classrooms, laboratories and dormitories in Boarding schools.
- Grade II Teacher Training Colleges: one Grade II Teacher Training College was built in every one of the 19 old districts.
- Technical Training Colleges: Technical colleges were built in Lira, Elgon, Kichwamba.
- Colleges of Commerce: UPC built the Uganda College of Commerce (now Makerere University Business School).
- Grade V Teacher Training Colleges: in 1965, UPC expanded and upgraded Kyambogo Grade III Teacher Training College to Grade V and later to the Institute of Teachers Education (now part of Kyambogo University) and built National Teacher Training Colleges at Masindi, Kabale, Mubende, Kakoba, Nagongera, Ngeta, Nkozi, and Kaliro.
- University: In 1964, UPC made university education free for all Ugandan students and in 1970 turned Makerere into a fully fledged University rather than a college of the University of East Africa.

At Makerere University itself, UPC built a new Mitchell Hall in 1963, Africa Hall in 1970, Lumumba Hall in 1970, a new Chemistry Department in 1968, a Mathematics/Science Block in 1968, the National Institute of Education in 1968, Commerce Building in 1970 to house the Department of Commerce and the Department of Law (now both full faculties), the Faculty of Technology in 1970, the Centre for Continuing Education (CCE) in 1970, and the Main Library.

- UPC implemented a policy of universal access to all schools

founded by religious institutions thereby enabling Ugandans of all religions to be admitted to any school of their choice.

- Built (with funding from the East African Community) the Soroti Flying School (1967-1970) to serve the East African Community.

LEISURE AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

- UPC established Uganda Television in 1963
- Built 423 Community Social Centres in sub-counties throughout the country to serve as adult education and rural entertainment centres.

AGRICULTURE

UPC built the following farming projects.

- Kibimba and Doho rice schemes; Mobuku irrigation scheme; and Dakabela and Kamuli Citrus Fruit irrigation schemes.
- Established 25 cattle ranching schemes in the country.
- Established the Uganda Tea Corporation to create tea estates. The following were created: Kiko Tea Company Ltd; Mwenge Tea Company Ltd; Salama Estates Ltd; and Kijura Tea Company.
- Established the Sango Bay Sugar Plantation and Kinyara Sugar Estate.
- Built Farm Schools: Built a farm school in every county to absorb primary school leavers and improve productivity.
- Built Farm Institutes: Built a District Farm Institute in every district in Uganda to train farmers.
- Built Busitema Agricultural Engineering College as a high institution for agricultural mechanics training (now turned into Busitema University).

- Established Tractor Hire Scheme Centres throughout the country to enable peasant farmers expand production.
- Built milk cooling plants in cattle rearing areas throughout the country to assist farmers in preserving milk before it is bought/collected for processing by Dairy Corporation.

HEALTH

- UPC built 23 quality rural hospitals, each of 100 beds: Abim, Anaka, Apac, Aturtur, Bugiri, Busolwe, Bududa, Gombe, Iganga, Itojo, Kagadi, Kambuga, Kawolo, Kayunga, Kiboga, Kitagata, Kibaale, Kiryadongo, Moyo, Nakaseke, Nebbi, Pallisa, Yumbe.
- UPC upgraded 13 hospitals into regional referral hospitals.
- UPC built health centres in every county.

DEVELOPMENT ENTERPRISES

UPC expanded:

- Uganda Development Corporation (with 40 subsidiaries).

UPC established the following:

- Coffee Marketing Board.
- Lint Marketing Board.
- Uganda Tea Authority.
- National Social Security Fund
- Produce Marketing Board that in turn built Uganda Grain Millers (Kawempe) and KOB.

BANKING, INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

- Established Bank of Uganda, and built the Bank of Uganda

short tower in 1966/7.

- Established Uganda Commercial Bank in 1965.
- Established Cooperative Bank.
- Established the National Insurance Corporation in 1964.
- Established Social Security Fund in 1967 and changed in to National Social Security Fund (NSSF) in 1985.

HOTELS

UPC expanded and modernized the following hotels which existed under Uganda Hotels Ltd at the time of independence: Acholi Inn, Gulu; Chobe Safari Lodge, Murchison Falls National Park; Mount Elgon Hotel, Mbale; Rock Hotel, Tororo; Crested Crane Hotel, Jinja; Tropic Inn, Masaka; Mweya Safari Lodge, Queen Elizabeth Park; Paraa Safari Lodge, Murchison Falls National Park; White Horse Inn, Kabale.

UPC built the following brand new hotels: Apollo Hotel (Kampala International/ Sheraton Kampala); White Rhino Hotel, Arua; Mt Moroto Hotel, Moroto; Soroti Hotel, Soroti; Lira Hotel, Lira; Hill Top Hotel, Kitgum, and Nile Hotel/ International Conference Centre Complex Kampala (now Serena Hotel).

ROAD AND RAIL INFRASTRUCTURE

UPC built the following key roads: Mbarara–Kasese- Fort Portal; Mbarara- Kabale; Kampala-Gulu-Lira; Jinja-Kamuli; Mable–Soroti; Masaka–Kyotera, Mukono–Kayunga.

UPC Built the following key bridges: Karuma Falls (Bunyoro); Pakwach (then West Nile); Komolo (Katakwi); Aguu (Soroti).

Extended the railway from Soroti to Pakwach and from Jinja to Kamuli.

Instituted the water transport and purchased the “Kawa” ship to enhance transport of Uganda’s goods through Tanzania.

HOUSING

- UPC established National Housing Corporation which built the following housing estates: Bugolobi, Bukoto, Naguru flats in Kampala and Walukuba in Jinja.

FACTORIES

UPC built the following major factories:

Coffee Marketing Board Ltd which built the Central Processing Unit at Bugolobi.

Chillington Tool Company (U) Ltd based in Jinja.

Dairy Corporation in Kampala which set up milk cooling and collection centres throughout the country.

Uganda Clays Ltd based in Kajjansi.

Uganda Leather & Tanning Industries Ltd based in Jinja.

Uganda Livestock Industries Ltd.

Kinyara Sugar Works, Ltd which established the plantation and sugar factory in Bunyoro.

Uganda Meat Packers Ltd based in Soroti and Kampala.

Uganda Grain Milling Company Ltd based in Jinja.

Uganda Seeds Limited.

Uganda Spinning Mills Ltd in Lira.

Uganda Printing & Publishing Corporation in Entebbe.

Soroti Agricultural Implements Manufacturing Co. Ltd. (SAIMMCO Ltd.).

The Uganda Metal Products & Enamelling Co. Ltd. (TUMPECO) in Kampala.

II. 1981-1985

In the 1980s UPC embarked on a major rehabilitation programme for assets built in the 1960s (which had seriously degraded under the Amin regime) and expanded them.

EDUCATION

- A large number of primary and secondary schools were built during this period.
- Expanded university education.
- Built more Technical Colleges, such as: Kabira; Uganda Technical College (Bushenyi); and Uganda Lira Technical College.
- Built more Uganda College of Commerce campuses, such as: Uganda College of Commerce at Kabale; Pakwach; Ikulwe; and Soroti.
- Built more National Teachers' Colleges, such as: Kabale; Kakoba; Mubende; and Nagongera.
- Established the Kalangala Farm Institute.
- Transformed the Grade II Teacher Training Colleges into Grade III and established the current Grade III Teacher Training Colleges.

DEVELOPMENT ENTERPRISES

- Coffee Marketing Board Central Processing plant at Bugolobi was rehabilitated; Uganda's coffee allocation quota by the

International Coffee Organisation was significantly increased from 2 to 3.2 million bags

- Lint Marketing Board, the cotton industry, Nyanza Textile Limited, African Textile Mill (Mbale), and Lira Spinning Mill, were all completely rehabilitated.
- Initiated the oil exploration activities by signing prospecting agreements and enacting the Petroleum Exploration and Production Act, 1985.
- All the railway lines in Uganda were revamped and became operational again.

BANKING

- Constructed the new tower for the Bank of Uganda.
- Expanded Uganda Commercial Bank, establishing 52 branches around the country.

AGRICULTURE

- Rehabilitated the cooperative societies and unions, and imported a large number of tractors for subsidized hiring by farmers.
- Revived funding of research institutes.
- Subsidized farm inputs for rural farmers.

FACTORIES

- Rehabilitated Sugar Corporation of Lugazi.
- Imported equipments for rehabilitation of Kakira Sugar Works.
- Imported equipments for rehabilitation of Kinyara sugar factory.

TRANSPORT AND INFRASTRUCTURE

- Imported 200 buses to revamp Uganda Transport Company (city service and upcountry routes).
- Provided lorries for all the cooperative unions and the Teachers Training Colleges, and many senior secondary schools.
- Embarked on rehabilitation of Malaba-Jinja, Masaka-Mabarara roads, and Kampala city road network.

* * *



U P C

Section Three

PROFILE OF MR. OLARA OTUNNU



To Olara A. Otunnu
 With best wishes, ~~expression~~ Bill Clinton

OO with President Bill Clinton of USA

Rt. Hon. Tony Blair, former Prime Minister of Britain, pays tribute to OO as one of the four key formative influences in his political life.

“My main political influences at university were two Australians, an Indian and a Ugandan. Each of these four people gave me an insight which stayed with me and shaped my approach to politics. All were of course on the left, but were very different people with very different experiences.

The fourth person was Olara Otunnu, a Ugandan. He had been president of the Students’ Guild at university in Kampala and had to flee from Idi Amin. St John’s took him in. He was a gifted speaker, really quite brilliant, and a lovely, spiritual human being. I think he regarded the student leftists enthusing about Marxism in the cloisters of privilege at Oxford with a degree of amused detachment. His politics were all about development and the burden of corrupt and appalling government ruining the prospects of the people. He taught me to look beyond the confines of Western student debate and think about the world that was not debating ‘capitalism versus socialism’, but life, hope and health versus death due to the ravages of poverty, conflict and disease.

It was an unusual group of people--diverse, unconventional, free thinking--who, at a moment when my mind was open, willing and eager to learn, shaped the structure of my thinking for the years to come.”

Tony Blair, ***A Journey*** (2010)



For over three decades, Mr. Otunnu has held several diverse leadership positions, for which he has received wide acclaim for demonstrating outstanding political and diplomatic leadership, vision, innovation, and courage. The breadth and depth of that experience is truly exceptional. This profile provides a sketch of that personal and professional journey.

Leadership Positions

The leadership positions Mr. Otunnu has held include:

- United Nations Under-Secretary General and Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, 1998–2005.
- President, International Peace Academy (now IPI), 1990–1998.
- President of the United Nations Security Council, 1981.
- Uganda's Representative to the UN Security Council, 1981–1982.
- Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, 1983–1984.
- Minister of Foreign Affairs (Uganda), 1985–1986.
- Uganda's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the UN, 1980–1985.
- Vice-President of the UN General Assembly, 1982–1983.
- Chairman of the UN General Assembly Credentials Committee, 1983–1984.
- Chairman of the Contact Group on Global Negotiations, 1982–1983.
- Chairman, Group of 77 for Law of the Sea Negotiations, 1980–1981.



OO announcing successful election of UN Secretary General, following the original application of the **Otunnu Formula**



OO receiving the Sydney Peace Prize

- Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Movement, 1983.
- Secretary General, Uganda Freedom Union, 1976–1980.
- Delegate, Moshi Unity Conference on Uganda, 1978.
- Member, Uganda National Consultative Council (Uganda's interim government, following the removal of the Idi Amin regime), 1979– 1980.
- President, Makerere University Students Guild (students' union), 1972–1973.
- Member, Makerere University Council (university governing body), 1972–1973.

He currently holds the following positions:

- President, Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC)
- President, LBL Foundation for Children
- World's Children's Ombudsman (the first holder of this position; selected by a worldwide network of over 25 million children).

Major Prizes and Awards

Mr. Otunnu has been widely acclaimed for his many outstanding and diverse contributions and achievements.

He is the recipient of several major international prizes and awards, including:

- Harvard Law School Alumni Award, 2007.
- Global Award for Outstanding Contribution to Human Rights (India), 2006.
- Sydney Peace Prize, 2005.
- German Africa Prize, 2002.
- Distinguished Service Award, awarded by the United Nations Association of USA.



OO receiving the Harvard Law School Award 2007



OO with Queen Silvia of Sweden after being named World's Children's Ombudsman



Emotional reunion with cousin Sabina Layet

- Overseas Scholar, Oxford University.
- Fulbright Scholar, Harvard University.
- The United States of America has recognized Mr. Otunnu as a person of **“extraordinary ability and talent”**, for which he has been granted the **special O1 immigrant status**, which is reserved for **“few individuals who have risen to the very top of their field of endeavor”**.

Membership of Major Boards

Mr. Otunnu has been very active in many civic activities and organisations, serving on the Boards of several major international institutions.

Currently he serves on the following Boards:

- Aspen Institute.
- International Peace Institute (formerly IPA).
- Member, Club of Rome.
- Jury for the Conrad Hilton Humanitarian Prize.
- Jury for the John P. McNulty Prize.
- Patron for the World's Children's Prize.
- Aspen France.

Previously, he has served on the Boards of:

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- International Selection Commission of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal.
- Carnegie Corporation of New York.
- International Crisis Group.
- Council of African Advisers of the World Bank.
- Hampshire College.
- International Patrons of the Refugee Studies Programme at Oxford University.
- Advisory Committee of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).
- Aspen Italia.
- Board of Trustees of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).
- Henry Dunant Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva.
- Regional Security Steering Committee of International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London.



OO at Board meeting of Conrad Hilton Humanitarian Prize, including Norwegian Prime Minister, Gro Brundtland and Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen



OO with Queen Silvia of Sweden and the children

Membership of Major International Commissions

Mr. Otunnu has been a member of several important independent international commissions, most of which have focused particularly on issues of Peace and Security, Human Rights, Conflict Management, Reform of the UN, and North/South Relations.

These commissions include:

- Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1994–1997.
- Commission on Global Governance, 1992–1995.
- Group on Rethinking International Governance, 1986–1990.
- International Panel on Management and Decision-Making in the United Nations (1986-1987).
- United Nations Group of Experts on New Concepts of International Security, 1984–1985.
- Commonwealth Group of Experts Study Group on the Security of Small States, 1984-1985.
- International Task Force on Security Council Peace Enforcement.



OO at Commission on Global Governance; including Commonwealth SG Sridath Ramphal, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Nobel Prize winner, Wangari Maathai

Examples of Major Initiatives and Innovations by Otunnu



OO applying the **Otunnu Formula** to elect the UN Secretary General

Below are some examples of major concrete initiatives undertaken by Mr. Otunnu, in his diverse leadership roles. These initiatives testify to his exceptional capacity and experience in providing Leadership, Political and Diplomatic Skills, Vision, and Innovation.

- He was responsible for **breaking the deadlock and crisis** over the election of UN Secretary General in 1981.
- As president of the UN Security Council in 1981, he invented the innovative system of straw balloting (commonly known as the **Otunnu Formula**), which has been used ever since in the election of the Secretary General.
- As chairman of the Credentials Committee of the UN General Assembly, he proposed and negotiated the formula that successfully resolved a major East/West diplomatic

showdown concerning representation of Grenada at the UN (the **Grenada Solution**), during the Grenada crisis of 1983-84.

- He played the key role in the Uganda Peace Talks (1985–1986), which culminated in the **Nairobi Peace Agreement** of December 1985.
- As president of International Peace Academy, he transformed the role, programmes, funding and profile of the organisation; he assembled a highly talented and diverse staff, attracted major new funding, and built an endowment.
- He successfully incorporated the protection of war-affected children into the agenda of the UN Security Council and made it a major peace-and-security issue.
- He spearheaded the building of a comprehensive body of international legal instruments and standards (e.g., Several UN Security Council Resolutions, culminating in Resolution 1612; relevant provisions of the ICC Statute; the Optional Protocol; relevant provisions of ILO Convention 182; relevant provisions of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child; etc.) for the protection of war-affected children.
- He successfully led the campaign to incorporate several **child-specific war crimes into the International Criminal Court Statute**; these provisions are currently being applied in the first cases brought before the ICC.
- He was responsible for designing and establishing the role and deployment of **Child Protection Advisers** in UN and regional peacekeeping missions.
- He initiated and established the on-going public listing (**Naming and Shaming List**) of parties responsible for committing crimes against children in situations of armed conflict.
- He proposed, designed and successfully lobbied for the adoption of the **groundbreaking compliance regime** for the protection of war-affected children, contained in historic UN Security Council **Resolution 1612** (2005). The compliance regime formally establishes a comprehensive, international monitoring and reporting mechanism to document grave violations against children, **identify and publicly list offending parties**, holding them accountable, in order to ensure compliance 'on the ground' with international legal standards.
- He initiated and established **Voice of Children** radio programmes, for children and by children.



OO carrying a child in Afghanistan



Juba; OO after freeing Ugandan LRA abductees

- As UN Special Representative, Mr. Otunnu pioneered the systematic practice of negotiating and obtaining concrete commitments from parties to conflict (**Commitments Watchlist**), concerning the protection of children, and then holding the parties accountable for carrying out their commitments. During his tenure, he obtained a number of such commitments from over 15 parties to conflict.
- He proposed and developed the **Era of Application**, and successfully applied this to the children-and-armed conflict agenda
- While head of IPA, Mr. Otunnu proposed the establishment of the **OAU Mechanism for Conflict Management**, and worked with the Secretary General of the OAU to develop the mechanism
- Mr. Otunnu's advocacy and collaboration with EU institutions yielded the **European Union Guidelines for Children and Armed Conflict**
- He proposed and successfully lobbied for the designation of war-affected children as a distinct category of beneficiaries under the **Otunnu Agreement on EU/ACP Partnership**.
- He initiated and successfully lobbied ECOWAS heads of state to adopt the **ECOWAS Peer Review Mechanism for Protection of Children**.

Leadership in the Field of International Security

Mr Otunnu is recognised as a major international leader in the field of international security and conflict resolution. For three decades, he has provided prominent leadership and been responsible for important and ground-breaking initiatives and innovations in this field.

- He has served in the following positions in which he provided direct and much-acclaimed leadership in the field of international security: Representative to and President of the UN Security Council, President of the International Peace Academy (now IPI), and UN Under-Secretary General. In these positions, he was responsible for many initiatives and innovations, as listed under the sections "Examples of Major Initiatives and Innovations by Mr. Otunnu" section.



OO negotiating ceasefire and release of children with FARC guerila leader, Colombia

- Mr. Otunnu has been a member of major international commissions devoted to issues of international security: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict; Commission on Global Governance; Group on Rethinking International Governance; International Panel on Management and Decision-Making in the United Nations; United Nations Group of Experts Study Group on the Security of Small States; and International Task Force on Security Council Peace Enforcement.
- Mr. Otunnu has served on several boards of civic organisations and institutions whose key mission is the promotion of international security. Among these are the International Crisis Group, Regional Security Steering Committee of International Institute of Strategic Studies and UNITAR.
- He has taught international security in two universities, and served as Visiting Scholar at IFRI.
- He has published extensively in this field (see publications section below).



OO as President of UN Security Council

Leading and Managing Organisations

Mr. Otunnu has led and managed diverse and important organisations; during his tenure, he has transformed and led them to new levels of achievements. Here are some examples:

- As UN Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, he developed and led a particularly ambitious international campaign; he put in place a comprehensive body of standards; and he instituted a groundbreaking compliance mechanism (Security Council Resolution 1612). Remarkably, all this was accomplished in spite of very limited resources in terms of budget and staff.
- As president of International Peace Academy, he transformed the organisation – its role, programmes, budget and fund-raising, staff, and physical premises. He left behind a reinvented institution with new highly-acclaimed programmes, greatly increased resources (including much-expanded budget and a new endowment), top calibre and diverse staff, and a great reputation and profile.
- As Minister of Foreign Affairs, he carried out a major reorganisation of the ministry, to reward performance and professionalism, and established transparent criteria for promotions and postings.
- When he took over as Uganda's ambassador to the UN, following the fall of Idi Amin, he quickly repositioned Uganda's role at the UN, **making it one of the most influential and respected at the UN.**

Leadership in the Fields of Human Rights and Humanitarian Action.

Mr. Otunnu has been actively engaged in the fight for and the promotion of human rights, in various capacities, for most of his adult life.

- As students' union president at Makerere University and as Secretary General of Uganda Freedom Union, Mr. Otunnu was **a key leader in opposition to the Idi Amin regime.**
- As university professor, he has taught courses on Human Rights, at Albany Law School and at American University in Paris.
- As Ambassador to the UN in the 1980s, Mr. Otunnu was an early supporter and sponsor of the proposal for the establishment of the position of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights; this was at a time when this idea was very controversial and appeared utopian. He participated in negotiations on the establishment of this position in both the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights.
- Mr. Otunnu has served as Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights. He also served for several years as Representative to the Commission. Mr. Otunnu was an early and strong supporter of the proposal to establish the International Criminal Court, and participated actively in the negotiations which culminated in the Rome Statute.
- He is greatly solicited as a speaker and commentator on human rights issues. As UN Special Representative, he developed the rights and protection of children exposed to war into a major and visible concern within the overall human rights agenda.
- Mr. Otunnu has served as a member of several high-level international commissions; in each of these commissions, one of the key areas under review was the promotion of Human Rights.
- As UN Special Representative, he designed, developed and carried out one



OO discussing with school children in Northern Ireland



OO with a war orphan in Sudan

of the most ambitious and successful international human rights enterprises (i.e. ensuring the protection and rights of children exposed to armed conflict) -- raising awareness, placing the protection and rights of war-affected children on the agenda of the UN Security Council, developing a comprehensive body of legal standards, mainstreaming this issue within and outside the UN, and successfully instituting a ground-breaking compliance mechanism.

- He has undertaken extensive visits to many countries in the midst or aftermath of conflict; he has encountered firsthand on the ground many episodes and victims of grave violation of human rights, and he has borne witness to their suffering.

Engagement with Regional Organisations

Over the years, in various capacities, Mr. Otunnu has systematically engaged regional organisations, particularly on issues of Peacekeeping, Human Rights, Conflict Management, and Development. He is very familiar and has worked closely with the following organisations:



OO discussing African issues with OAU Secretary General, Salim A. Salim

- European Union (EU);
- African Union (AU), previously known as Organization of African Unity (OAU);
- Organization of American States (OAS);
- Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE);
- League of Arab States (LAS);
- European Parliament;
- EU/ACP Joint Parliamentary Assembly;
- Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC);
- Group of 77;
- Non-Aligned Movement (NAM);
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Some examples of concrete outcomes which have emerged as a result of Mr. Otunnu's engagement with regional organisations are listed under the "Examples of Major Initiatives and Innovations by Mr. Otunnu" section above.

Engagement with Civil Society and NGOs

Mr. Otunnu has had a long and deep history of involvement with civil society and NGOs. He has served on the Boards of several such organisations.

- In particular, during his work as Chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights, president of IPA, and UN Special Representative, Mr. Otunnu systematically reached out and engaged these groups in his activities. He regularly sought their inputs as well as briefed them; these consultations took place in New York, Geneva and Brussels, as well as during his many field trips.
- In his outreach over the years, he has actively engaged parliamentarians, women's organisations, communities of faith, scholars and researchers, and the youth.



OO with Cardinal Martino, President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace at the Vatican

Advocacy Roles

Mr. Otunnu has had extensive and highly successful experience in conducting international advocacy, including specifically on issues of Peace and Security, United Nations, Development, Human Rights, and the future of Africa.

Examples of this experience include:

- As UN Special Representative, he was particularly effective in using international advocacy to raise public and official awareness, and to give the children-and-armed-conflict agenda high profile and visibility.
- Over the years, he has extensively engaged the media for advocacy, as interviewee, commentator, opinion-writer, and through press conferences.
- He is much solicited as a speaker and commentator on issues of Peace and Security, United Nations, Development, Human Rights, and Africa.



OO at site of genocide massacre in Rwanda



OO with Colombian Senator after successfully obtaining her release from FARC guerillas

- As a member of several international commissions, he has been very active in promoting and publicizing the findings and outcomes of these commissions, most of which contain significant observations and recommendations.

Academic Positions

Mr. Otunnu has taught Law at Albany Law School, and International Relations at American University in Paris. Mr. Otunnu has held the following academic positions:

- Assistant Professor of Law, Albany Law School
- Visiting Professor, American University in Paris
- Visiting Scholar, Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (IFRI), Paris.

Law Practice

Mr. Otunnu has practiced law, as associate in the law firm of Chadbourne and Parke in New York.

Publications

Mr. Otunnu has widely published articles in magazines, periodicals and newspapers. His articles have focused mainly on issues of international security, human rights, conflict management, protection of war-affected children, reform of the United Nations, the future of Africa, and globalization. He co-edited (with Professor Michael Doyle) the book, ***Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the New Century*** (1998).

In Uganda's Service

Over the years, Mr. Otunnu has provided important leadership and service to Uganda, in various capacities. The roles include:

- President, Makerere University Students Guild (students' union), 1972–1973; his rallying theme was **We Have A Common Destiny**.
- As students' union president at Makerere University, Mr. Otunnu was a key leader in opposition to the Idi Amin regime. In tribute to Mr. Otunnu's strong leadership and his courageous role in spearheading the students' resistance against the Amin regime, the road linking the main University campus and Mulago Medical School is named **Otunnu Highway**.
- Member, Makerere University Council (university governing body), 1972–1973.
- Secretary General of the Uganda Freedom Union, an opposition organisation against the Idi Amin regime, 1976–1980.

-

MAKERERE STUDENTS' GUILD EXECUTIVE 1972/73



OO as guild president on official visit to Guinea



89

transparent criteria for promotions and postings

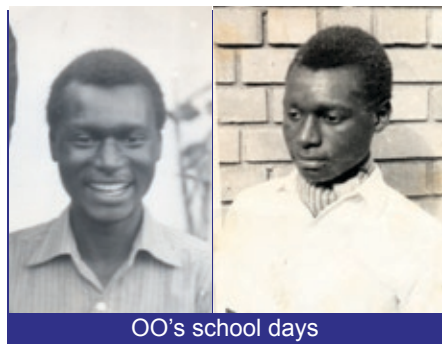
- Personal Assistant to Deputy Legal Adviser for East Africa Posts and Telecommunications Corporation, 1971.
- News broadcaster (in Lwo) for Radio Uganda, 1971–1973.
- While serving on the Board of the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1998–2007), he played the key role in establishing the “Partnership for Higher Education in Africa,” a programme which provides special funding to a select group of African universities. His alma mater, Makerere University, is a major beneficiary of this funding programme, having received **over US \$55 million** since 2000.
- Mr. Otunnu has led the international campaign to expose and demand an end to the genocide in northern Uganda, as well as the dismantling of the 200 concentration camps into which 2 million people were forcibly herded for a period of 15–23 years. He has written and spoken extensively about this issue.

Birthplace and Home

- Mr. Otunnu’s birthplace is Mucwini, Chua. He was raised in Mucwini, Arua, Anaka and Pece.
- In Uganda, the family home is in Pece, Gulu.
- In the United States, the family home is in Westchester, New York.

Languages

- Mr. Otunnu’s mother tongue is Lwo.
- He is also fluent in two international languages: English and French.



OO’s school days

Education

Mr. Otunnu received his formal education at the following institutions:

- Mvara, Mucwini and Anaka primary schools.
- Gulu High School.
- King’s College, Budo (on Queen’s Scholarship, having come **first in Northern Region** in the Senior Secondary School Entrance Examinations)
- Makerere University.
- Oxford University, where he was **Overseas Scholar**.
- Harvard Law School, where he was **Fulbright Scholar**.

Tribute by President of Germany, H.E. Dr. Johannes Rau, on the occasion of awarding the German Africa Prize to OO, 2002

"In you, we are honouring a person who has brought a beacon of hope to people who live in profound darkness. If one were to seek a *leitmotiv* for your work, Mr. Otunnu, one would have to say that from your own painful experience, you want to act as a mouthpiece for the weakest among us whose voices would otherwise not be heard. You champion the universal validity and enforcement of human rights. You have been instrumental in placing the subject of war-affected children on the agenda at the United Nations.

What I found most impressive about you, Mr. Otunnu, is your absolute commitment. You are not only a man of words, but also a man of deeds. You were instrumental in persuading the warring parties in the Congo conflict to agree to a ceasefire. This has enabled UNICEF and the World Health Organization to carry out a long-overdue vaccination campaign there to eradicate polio. But you also act on the personal level: you have adopted six children who were orphaned during the civil war in your country".

*Previous recipients include former President of Botswana,
Sir Ketumile Masire*

* * *

**HLS Dean, Elena Kagan (now US Supreme Court Justice)
pays tribute to OO, 2007**

"Olara Otunnu is one of our most inspiring alumni. His career in public service, his extensive leadership in the fields of international security and human rights, and his groundbreaking work at the UN set an example for all of us. He is a tireless advocate for children around the world, and I am honoured to be able to present him with the Harvard Law School Award.

During his time at the UN, Otunnu spearheaded the campaign to develop and mobilize international action on behalf of children exposed to war. He was the architect of the groundbreaking compliance mechanism designed to protect war-affected children, which was unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council in Resolution 1612(2005) "

*Previous recipients of the HLSA Award include President Barack Obama and
former President of Ireland Mary Robinson*

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 2005 R

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Children in Combat

THERE IS MUCH that the United Nations cannot be expected to do, but it can focus attention on human rights issues, particularly in lawless places where nobody else has much influence. For the past several years, the U.N. Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, Olara Otunnu, has been building a framework to put pressure on armies that send children into battle, particularly in the kinds of places where neither the laws of war nor generally accepted standards have penetrated. According to information he has compiled during travels to Colombia, Sri Lanka, Congo and elsewhere, more than 250,000 children are exploited in conflict, as child soldiers and porters, spies and sex slaves. In the past decade, more than 2 million children have been killed in battle, and more than 6 million have been injured.

Mr. Otunnu has now presented his report on child combatants to the U.N. Security Council. Unusually, for a U.N. document, it names names, concluding with a list of offenders. Very unusually for the United Nations, which is rarely involved in internal conflicts, it lists both governments and insurgent rebel groups that ex-

ploit children. Among them are the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, the Janjaweed of Sudan, the Communist party of Nepal, as well as both irregular rebel forces and government forces in Uganda, Burma and Congo. Mr. Otunnu proposes specific actions, mostly involving careful, continued monitoring of these conflicts by existing regional and U.N. authorities. Already, he says, his list has generated a reaction from groups that 10 years ago might have ignored international criticisms. Because they rely on international connections for weapons, supplies and support, and because many hope to take power, they appear more sensitive to U.N. criticism than might have been expected. This is "more than just words," he says. "This is concrete, tangible."

Perhaps fearing the specificity of these recommendations, the Security Council has not yet developed a resolution based on them. This is an area where the U.S. government, if its diplomats were to take an interest, could push the United Nations to make a difference. Monitoring the use of children in the informal, insurgent wars that torment so much of the developing world might inhibit those who would otherwise violate the norms without a second thought.



THE GLOBE AND MAIL

Editorial; August 2, 2005, Page A12

Save the child soldiers

Laws without teeth don't mean very much. All the international treaties and conventions banning the use of children in armed conflict by and large have failed to protect them. Over the past 10 years, two million children have been killed in war zones and another six million disabled and injured. Today, more than 250,000 traumatized children around the world bear arms in conflicts adults have created. Land mines kill or maim as many as 10,000 children every year.

These United Nations statistics should shock. Remarkably, they have finally moved the UN Security Council to reach the obvious conclusion that concrete gestures must accompany well-meaning words. It has been far too long in coming, but the council has unanimously adopted specific measures to curtail serious violations against children caught up in armed conflicts. "For the first time, the UN is establishing a formal, structured and detailed compliance regime of this kind," said Olara Otunnu, UN special representative for children and armed conflict.

Here's how it is supposed to work. First, the UN is setting up a comprehensive mechanism that will monitor and report on specific violations by governments and insurgents. The violations include the killing or maiming of children; the recruiting or use of child soldiers; attacks against schools or hospitals; abduction of children; and the denial of humanitarian ac-

cess for children. The UN already has a long list of known violators, including Sudan's *janjaweed* militia, Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers and Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army. The UN teams will carry out their monitoring in stages. This year, they will scrutinize Burundi, Congo, Ivory Coast, the Republic of Congo, Somali and Sudan; next year, they will monitor Colombia, Myanmar, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Uganda.

What makes the Security Council's resolution especially noteworthy is that it orders offending parties that are already on the name-and-shame list, and any new ones as well, to draw up concrete plans and timelines to stop the abuse of children. If they don't, the council may take action — imposing arms embargoes and cutting off access to money, and imposing travel restrictions on leaders and barring them from taking advantage of any amnesty provisions. "Today, as never before," said Mr. Otunnu, "we have the necessary norms, institutions and means to realize the 'era of application' for the protection of all children exposed to armed conflict."

The council's resolution is an important step in protecting children in places where neither international conventions nor generally accepted standards have penetrated. Still, its success will depend on the will of the council's 15 members to see that it is implemented fully and adequately enforced. In other words, words must be turned into action.

Tribute to OO by Jury of Sydney Peace Prize

“Mr. Otunnu has been instrumental in placing the protection of war-affected children on the international peace and security agendas. He has developed the practice of naming parties to conflict which brutalize children. In this respect he has also crafted mechanisms to monitor and report on countries’ compliance to Security Council Resolutions.

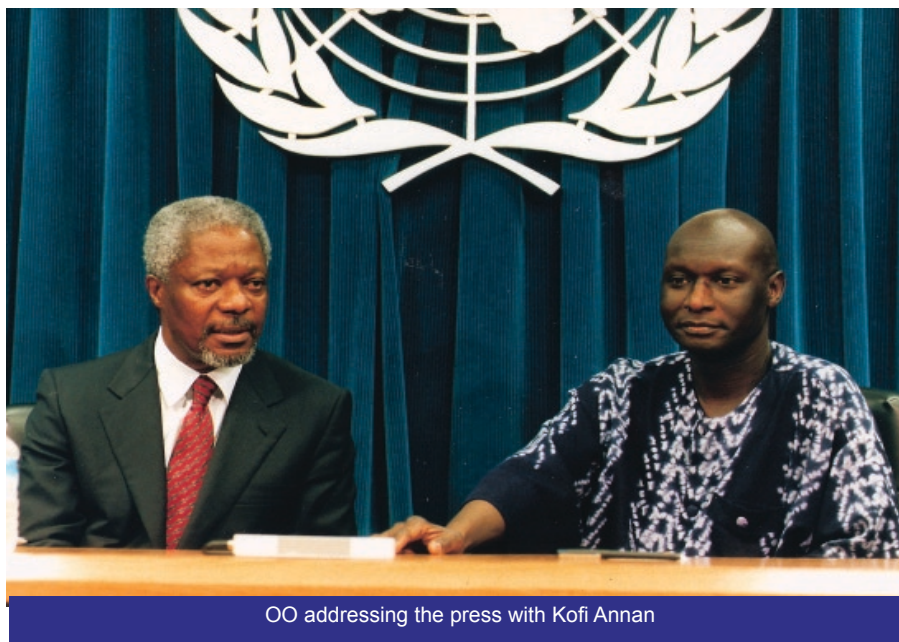
Mr Otunnu has been awarded the 2005 Sydney Peace Prize for his lifetime of work, and his promotion of the healing and social reintegration of children in the aftermath of conflict.”

*Previous recipients of this Prize include
Nobel Laureate Muhammad Yunus, Archbishop Desmond Tutu,
and East Timor President Xanana Gusmao*

* * *



OO consoling a woman in Kosovo





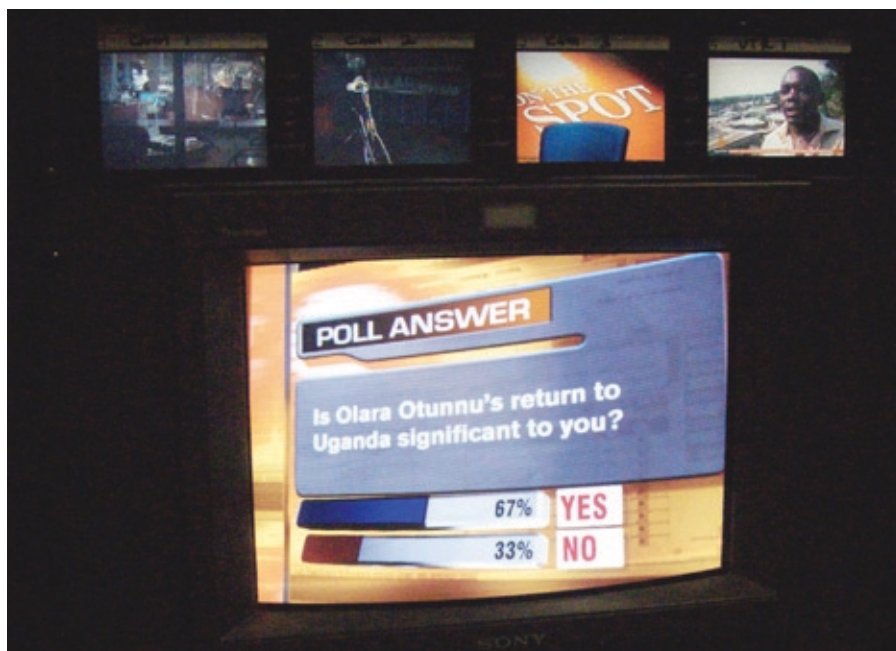
OO in discussion with predecessor Maama Miria Kalule Obote



Holding consultations with Graca Machel, President Kenneth Kaunda and Francis Deng



OO receiving "Oboko Lwedo" (Traditional Blessing) from Mzee Tiberio Okeny Atwoma



Poll following interview on NTV'S "On the Spot"



OO heading debating society at Budo; photo includes Eva Mulira, Justice James Ogola, and Amanyanya Mushega



OO with close friend and confidant Godfrey Kajungu at Makerere



OO with Dr. William Kalema in Oxford



OO discussing human rights with Kerry Kennedy and Michael Posner (now US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights)



OO consulting with ambassadors of China and Mexico at UN Security Council



OO greeting the Kabaka of Buganda at the launch of Bulungi Bwansi in Mawokota



*To Olara Otunnu
Best Wishes,*

Hillary Rodham Clinton

At deliberations with then USA First Lady, Hillary Clinton
(now Secretary of State)



A walk in the woods with Kofi Annan



OO mobilising world artists; with musicians Luciano Pavarotti, Stevie Wonder, and filmmaker Spike Lee